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# THE INTELLIGENCE WAR

## U.S. REPORT BACKS SPACE ARMS

By ROBERT MOSS

THE argument is gaining force in Defence Department circles in Washington that the most effective counter to the Soviet military build-up and possibly also the fastest and least expensive — is the deployment of space weapons that could be used to destroy Russia's missiles soon after a nuclear launch.

Long considered a dream from science fiction, the viability of a space-based anti-missile defence system is confirmed by a recent estimate prepared by the Rockwell Corporation, which was heavily involved in the successful American Space Shuttle programme.

Scientists working for Rockwell now estimate that within four to five years, the United States could deploy a partial space defence system based on the technology developed in the Space Shuttle effort and the successful testing of high-energy laser weapons, by the experts at the Lawrence Livermore Laboratories.

At the same time, the American Air Force is reliably reported to be studying a plan to construct small, highly manoeuvrable, one-man 'space cruisers' that could shoot down Soviet ICBMs with laser guns prior to the dispersal of the Russians' MIRV warheads.

Air Force estimates — supported by a report from the Stanford Research Institute — indicate that the first of these space cruisers could be ready for launch within two and a half years, at a cost of less than one per cent. of the budget for the Space Shuttle 'Columbia'. The Americans' existing network of early-warning satellites would be used to guide the space cruisers to their targets.

### New strategy

There is a growing body of opinion among Washington defence experts that favours the idea that a future confrontation between the superpowers might well be won or lost in space.

Lt-Gen. Daniel Graham, the former head of the Defence Intelligence Agency maintains that space weapons offer the United States its only realistic chance of overtaking the Russians' strategic build-up before the 1990s. He points out, for example, that it will take 10 years to add 200 MX missiles to America's strategic inventory, as projected under current defence plans.

Many of those who share Gen. Graham's perspective take the argument one stage further, observing that in the historical course of warfare, power has shifted dramatically to those nations which were first to develop the means of combat in new elements as the growth of technology allowed man to shift his activities from land into the coastal seas, the oceans and finally the air.

The British Empire was based on seapower, just as American strategic superiority in the past was based, not merely on the nuclear arsenal but on ascendancy in the air.

The recent successful testing of Soviet killer satellites left little doubt in the minds of Western analysts about the seriousness of Moscow's efforts to establish ascendancy in space.

### Russians ahead

A major source of worry is that, as a result of an intensive research and development programme initiated in Khrushchev's time, the Russians outstripped the Americans in the production of lasers and particle beam weapons suitable for deployment in space — although the United States has a clear technology.

A more ambitious American effort to establish military superiority in space would have a good chance of enlisting widespread public support, for several reasons. It would considerably reduce the threat from Russia's nuclear stockpile. It would open up the possibility that if the unthinkable came to pass and nuclear weapons were used in a future war, the theatre of conflict might be in space rather than on the Earth's surface.

There would be important side-benefits from an intensified American space programme; notably through the launching of solar power satellites that could be used to harness enormous quantities of energy for peaceful use.

One visionary plan which is now considered entirely practicable projects the deployment of huge arrays of solar cells — covering an area of up to three miles wide by eight miles long. But such constructions would be completely vulnerable to destruction by Russia's killer satellites unless they were protected by America's own space fleet.

### Propaganda claims

If the proposals that are now being advanced by Gen. Graham and by several senior Pentagon officials are taken up by the new administration, the Russians are likely to press the propaganda claim that the United States is acting in defiance of standing treaties — notably the Soviet-American treaty of 1972 on anti-ballistic missile (ABM) systems and conventions prohibiting the deployment of offensive weapons in space.

Such charges are unlikely to be taken seriously in Washington. In the case of the ABM treaty (as in the case

of the Salt-1 and Salt-2 treaties) there is a vast body of evidence of systematic Soviet violations of standing agreements with the United States.

Top officials in the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA) in Washington have compiled a lengthy classified study describing dozens of significant Soviet violations.

In the case of the ABM treaty, Soviet cheating is said to have included the falsification of the numbers of test launchers that were put out of commission in 1973, and unauthorised development and testing of a new air defence missile, the Sam-5 and a system known as ABM-X-3, which makes use of highly advanced phased-array radars.

In the case of standing conventions of the 'militarisation' of space, a powerful case can be made that the Russians have already contravened them through their repeated testings of killer satellites.

### Jobs row in

### the CIA

THE hottest rumour just now at CIA headquarters at Langley, Virginia, is that the name of a New Hampshire businessman, Mr Max Hugel, has been proposed for the critically important job of Deputy Director for Operations (DDO).

The post has been vacant since its former incumbent, Mr John McMahon, was moved sideways to sort out the CIA's analytical side, which recently disgraced itself — in the eyes of the White House and the CIA director, Mr William Casey — by downplaying suggestions of Soviet involvement in international terrorism.

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# Can the CIA Win Spy War?

*"We are in possibly the most menacing period since World War II who believes that the answer to the Soviet challenge lies how intelligent is our intelligence?"*

By Tad Szulc

—In Saudi Arabia, radical plotters are conspiring to overthrow the rulers of the oil kingdom in an ominous replay of the Iranian revolution.

—In strife-ridden Central America, Cuban operatives are secretly delivering weapons to leftist rebels.

—In Western European capitals, Soviet diplomats are subtly seeking to encourage the new wave of neutralism.

—At their proving grounds in Central Asia, the Russians are flight-testing a new intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM) with 10 nuclear warheads, a super-rocket designed to hit targets in the United States with deadly accuracy.

These are just a few of the crucial problems and dangers facing the United States at a time of rising tension with the Soviet Union and general international upheaval. We are in possibly the most menacing period since World War II.

For America to be able to deal effectively with threats of this kind, we need precise, detailed and timely knowledge of what is happening around the globe on a daily basis. In other words, the greatest self-defense requirement for the United States, as seen by the Reagan Administration, is a first-rate capability for gathering and interpreting intelligence — as well as

for influencing events in foreign countries through secret means and resources.

But according to the most experienced experts in Washington, United States Intelligence — the Central Intelligence Agency and its military sister agencies — has been falling short of superb performance, to say the least, in recent years. This is believed to be true of both "human" and technical intelligence, from cloak-and-dagger espionage to the spy-in-the-sky (satellite) surveillance of Soviet nuclear advances.

The rebuilding, streamlining and modernizing of American intelligence operations looms, therefore, as one of the highest priorities for the Reagan Administration and the new leadership team it fielded earlier this year. The decision to revive and step up covert activities abroad — ranging from clandestine arms aid to anti-Soviet fighters in Afghanistan to efforts at gaining decisive political influence in the petroleum-rich Persian Gulf — is part of the current upgrading plan. Much more must be done, however, to restore primacy to the United States in the elusive world of intelligence.

The immediate responsibility for improving American intelligence lies with William J. Casey, the 68-year-old New York lawyer who was named by President Reagan as Director of Central Intelligence after managing his election campaign. Under the law, Casey is head of the entire intelligence community (comprising the CIA; the Pentagon-run National Security Agency; the Defense Intelligence Agency, and the State De-

partment-run National Security Agency, a reference to the low morale pervading the Agency since the Congressional investigations of the mid-1970's and continuing through the tenure of Admiral Stansfield Turner as CIA Director during the Carter Administration.

How well Casey will succeed remains a serious question mark in Washington. Though he has been touted as an "old hand" at intelligence, there are many doubts among intelligence professionals concerning his leadership qualities, including his limited experience in this field. Casey served for three wartime years as a London-based senior officer in the Office of Strategic Services, the CIA's forerunner, but did not join the CIA afterward. His only other direct exposure to intelligence was his service in 1976 on the Murphy Commission, which surveyed the work of the intelligence community. Casey's exposure

Tad Szulc has written 14 books on foreign policy. His first novel, *Diplomatic Immunity*, will be published by Simon & Schuster later this month.

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